

WORKING PAPER

APPENDIX A

MESSAGES TO THE RUSSIAN PEOPLE:

1. Dictatorship is the personal rule of one man who controls every facet of national life, whose personal tastes determine what the people will be allowed to read, think and say. Stalin is such a dictator. For the past 44 years he alone has determined which parts of your great culture you have been allowed to retain, which of your great authors you can read and which of your composers' works you can hear. He has robbed you of much of your cultural heritage - some of it he has left you. But what will happen to these cherished remnants of your culture when Stalin dies? The personal tastes of the man who succeeds Stalin to power again will dictate what your culture shall be. Perhaps he will disapprove of all your pre-Soviet authors, all your pre-Soviet composers -- it will be in his power to destroy them for you. If he fears the great Russian culture of pre-revolutionary days because it outshines cultural attainments since the revolution, he will abolish all traces of it, leaving the memory of Russia's cultural greatness to die with you.

2. When Stalin dies there will be no lessening of oppression in Russia. Whoever inherits his mantle will bring you greater cruelties and privations. Every member of the Praesidium covets Stalin's power and will fight behind the scenes to get that power. The man who actually inherits Stalin's place will have a constant battle on his hands to retain the power himself. He will suspect everyone of wanting to overthrow him and no one will escape the repressions born of these suspicions. The new dictator on Stalin's death

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will bring greater oppression to your lives. His spies will denounce real or imaginary opponents among the people, his police will eliminate the innocent and guilty alike and his fears of losing power will bring terror into every household. Stalin's purges will pale before the purges that will follow his death.

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